

lution by the Lutheran Laymen's League dealing with the same subject.

I should like to preface this resolution with a few words from the letter written to me by Mr. Paul Friedrich, executive director of the Lutheran Laymen's League and which says:

We want to make it clear that we do not ask for any form of censorship that will interfere with any person's constitutionally guaranteed right of free speech. Fundamentally, we feel that this is a moral and spiritual problem that can best be solved by proper moral and spiritual education and enlightenment. It is our hope that our States and also our National Government will convene conferences of all interested persons and groups, so that through the free exchange of thought the best approaches and solutions may be arrived at.

I should like to have the resolution by the Lutheran Laymen's League printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

RESOLUTION 60-04—IMMORALITY, VIOLENCE AND BAD TASTE IN PICTURES, PROGRAMS AND PUBLICATIONS

Whereas decent citizens of the United States and Canada are becoming increasingly disturbed by the prevalence of immorality, violence, and bad taste in publications, motion pictures, television and radio programs, and in the mass communications media generally; and

Whereas the fundamental values of respect for God, for human life, for marriage, home and family, for property, for virtue, for good name and reputation are being degraded and eroded by these unwholesome influences and materials; and

Whereas these evils can be combated and rooted out only by the united and persistent efforts of all decent citizens; and

Whereas we Lutheran laymen, as followers of the Lord Jesus Christ, must be in the forefront of this battle for decency and morality: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Lutheran Laymen's League, assembled in convention in Minneapolis, Minn., from July 9 to July 13, 1960, hereby—

(a) Commends and supports the producers of all acceptable publications, motion pictures and television and radio programs for recognizing and discharging their moral responsibilities in this respect;

(b) Commend the Postmaster General of the United States for his diligent efforts to "clean up the mails";

(c) Encourage current efforts in the two Houses of the U.S. Congress to convene a conference of Federal, State and local officials, together with representatives of other interested groups, to study this matter and make recommendations for ways and means to deal with the problem effectively;

(d) Take the necessary steps to have a delegate from the Lutheran Laymen's League and also a delegate from the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod participate in such a conference;

(e) Make a determined effort, as individuals and as a group, to see to it that none of these offensive influences come into our own homes by way of publications and television and radio programs, and that we and the members of our families pledge ourselves to choose our entertainment outside the home carefully and in accordance with God's word;

(f) Pray fervently and frequently that Almighty God will strengthen each one of us, our families, our communities and our nations, so that we may overcome the dissemination of these unwholesome influences and

lift our society to new and higher levels of morality, virtue and decency; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be released to the public press for publication and that copies be sent to the appropriate officials of the motion picture industry, the radio and television industries, the publishing industry, to Members of the Congress and to other public officials and civic and religious leaders who are or should be interested in this matter.

REGULATION OF MASS TRANSIT IN THE WASHINGTON, D.C., METROPOLITAN AREA

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair lays before the Senate the unfinished business, House Joint Resolution 402, which will be stated by title.

The LEGISLATIVE CLERK. A joint resolution (H.J. Res. 402) granting the consent of Congress for the States of Virginia and Maryland and the District of Columbia to enter into a compact related to the regulation of mass transit in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area, and for other purposes.

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THE FREEDOM COMMISSION

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, when the history is written of the achievements of this extra postconvention session of the Senate, I am one of those who believe that the salutary action taken so promptly and emphatically by the Senate yesterday in the approval of S. 1689, the bill to create the Freedom Commission for the development of the science of counteraction to the world Communist conspiracy for the training and development of leaders in a total political war, is going to rank high on the list of achievements of this session.

I have been gratified by the interest displayed by the radio-TV networks and the news media, and the way this important achievement has been covered and reported by most of the metropolitan papers of the country. There have been a few instances in which the reporters of the papers and, for some reason or other, the city desks have missed the story growing out of the Senate's most important action yesterday, but by and large this historic action has received the kind of widespread publicity which it deserves. It is certain to receive much more.

I think that in the arguments made yesterday before the Senate enacted this proposed legislation it was not emphasized sufficiently that the Russians for a long time have operated their concept of an academy of this type. Years ago when I served on what was then known as the Dies committee of the House of Representatives, and which is now known as the House Committee on Un-American Activities, we explored and studied what was then known as the Lenin Institute in Russia where, back in the 1930's, Russia trained personnel to do its propaganda and espionage jobs.

It should have been said yesterday, and I now say it for the RECORD, that in the United States the Communists themselves have also maintained training institutions and academies to train their operatives here in America. There was

a time when some of the representatives of the Dies committee attended as undercover students one of these Communist institutes on 13th Street in New York City, and there have been at times as many as four or five of these Communist training institutes flourishing in America. So it was well that the Senate in its wisdom, proving once again that it can meet an emergency by acting rapidly when a need arises, passed this proposed legislation yesterday to provide a Freedom Academy in America.

I still hope that before the House adjourns, it will suspend the rules to approve S. 1689, which in the House is sponsored by Representative A. SYDNEY HERLONG, of Florida, and Representative WALTER JUDD, of Minnesota. Whether the measure can be disentangled from the rule situation over there or not, I believe a great forward step was made by the Senate yesterday.

I ask that there be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks a copy of S. 1689, which was introduced by myself and Mr. DOUGLAS and Mr. CASE of New Jersey in the form that it passed the Senate, in order that those who are interested may study the measure more carefully.

There being no objection, the bill was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SHORT TITLE

SECTION 1. This Act may be cited as the "Freedom Commission Act."

CONGRESSIONAL FINDINGS AND STATEMENT OF POLICY

SEC. 2. (a) The Congress of the United States makes the following findings:

(1) The Soviet Union and Communist China are waging a total political war against the United States and against the peoples and governments of all other nations of the Free World.

(2) Unlike the Free World, the Soviet Union has systematically prepared for this total political war over several decades. Drawing on the experience of previous conquerors and upon their own elaborate studies and extensive pragmatic tests, Soviet leaders have developed their conspiratorial version of political warfare into a highly effective operational science. Recognizing that political warfare is a difficult science making unusual demands on its practitioners, the Soviet Union and Communist China have established an elaborate network of training schools, within and without the Free World, in which have been trained large numbers of highly skilled activists. These activists continue to receive intensive training throughout their party careers.

(3) In this total political war the Soviets permit no neutrals. Every citizen, every economic, cultural, religious, or ethnic group is a target and is under some form of direct or indirect Communist attack. The battleground is everywhere, and every citizen, knowingly or unknowingly, through action or inaction, is involved in this continuous struggle.

(4) Since the end of World War II, the Soviets, taking full advantage of their better preparation and often superior organizational and operational know-how, have inflicted a series of political warfare defeats on the Free World. The total sum of these defeats is nothing less than a disaster for the United States and the Free World and the continuation of this political war by the

history of the development of the military, naval, and air forces of the United States. An additional 18,000 square feet have been assigned to military and naval study collections which will be open to the public on appointment. Many general facilities of the new building, such as a library, auditorium, and cafeteria will be available for the use of those who come principally to see the military exhibits or for special lectures and programs. The general technical services in the fields of preparation and preservation of museum objects existing for the entire museum, will likewise be available to the staff of the Department of Armed Forces History.

The staffs of the National Air Museum and the Museum of History and Technology devote much of their efforts to scholarly research. The Smithsonian Institution functions in part as one of the Nation's major study centers and issues a series of publications on military history and related subjects which is anticipated and well received throughout the world.

4. The present and planned facilities and programs of both the Museum of History and Technology and the National Air Museum only partially meet the need for an effective and comprehensive exhibition of the contributions of the Nation's Armed Forces as described above. The traditional memorabilia of warfare (small arms, rifles, edge weapons, uniforms, insignia, and heraldry) can readily be displayed in the halls of military history and exhibits programed for the new museum buildings. However, no building on the Mall could properly be large enough to house and display such huge objects as self-propelled field artillery, heavy ordnance, tanks weighing many thousands of pounds, naval vessels and equipment, and future rockets and missiles. Space limitations make it impossible to portray effectively how earlier wars were fought through the reconstruction of trenches, fortifications, or cantonments.

The Committee has considered possible ways in which the broad sweep of military history could be more effectively presented and the role of the armed forces in creating a peaceful world could be emphasized. It believes additional facilities are needed beyond those presently existing or planned at the Smithsonian Institution. However, such facilities should be under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution and serve as a supplement to the exhibitions and study collections maintained in any building on the Mall. A sufficiently large area in or near Washington, D.C., should be acquired which will permit construction of buildings suitable for the display of large and heavy objects adjacent to an open-air display of the evolution through the years of military tactics, both offensive and defensive, as seen in trenches, fortifications, and other full-scale constructions. The possibility of locating this area on tide water should also be considered so as to provide anchorage for historic naval vessels.

The Committee believes these additional facilities would not only permit the Smithsonian Institution to maintain its present integrated graphic presentation of military history but would provide it with the opportunity to expand greatly its exhibition potential, to provide added study space, to demonstrate more comprehensively the impact of the Armed Forces on American culture, medicine, engineering and science, and to interpret significant problems affecting national security. Within this context, we believe an institution will emerge which can develop the two themes emphasized in your letter to the Committee as of highest significance: "an exposition of the contribu-

tions which military forces have made to American society and culture; and an analysis of the meaning of war in today's civilization."

5. The Committee believes this broadened concept should be subjected to continuing study with the objective of developing detailed procedures for its realization. Hence, it recommends that a permanent Advisory Board to be known as the National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board be created by statute to provide advice and assistance to the Regents and the staff of the Smithsonian Institution for this purpose and to guarantee sustained interest in the project. In particular, this Board should also make recommendations as to the following: (a) Location, size, architectural style, and cost of the new facility; (b) choice of an appropriate name. The Committee recommends that "The National Armed Forces Museum" be considered as a suitable title.

6. Although some funds for the project could undoubtedly be raised by public subscription, the Committee feels the magnitude of the undertaking and the national and honorary character of the institution require that it be fully financed by appropriation of the Congress. However, the Committee recognizes that gifts and bequests will be received and should be encouraged.

7. Some who have considered the feasibility of an American Armed Forces museum have visualized a large monumental building centrally located in the Nation's Capital. At one time several members of your Committee supported this viewpoint, but after full consideration of the merits of such a proposal, the Committee has now agreed upon the conclusion outlined above. The Committee's study of European military museums has clearly shown that Armed Forces museums of very high quality can be organized in a variety of ways to fit different and special national needs. The American solution to the problem of creating a suitable Armed Forces museum must also be typical of our Nation and of our unique military history. In this connection, therefore, it is important to remember that the Smithsonian Institution in its present buildings and in its new museum now being constructed on the Mall has already evolved and institutionalized a number of the fundamental principles and requirements for an American military museum. By continuing to draw upon the experience and guidance furnished by the Smithsonian Institution within the concept of the plan described in this report, the Committee believes a positive step forward will have been taken toward developing an Armed Forces museum which will be specifically fitted to our special national situation.

8. The Committee does not believe the proposals contained in this report, if realized, would encroach upon the activities of any other Government-operated military collection, nor need it preclude the creation of specialized collections devoted to technological subjects or those which are primarily of organizational interest.

The Committee believes in seeking authorization for this proposal that no modifications should be made to Public Law 722, 79th Congress, approved August 12, 1946, which established the National Air Museum, nor any other authority of the Smithsonian Institution be rescinded to bring this project to completion.

9. Accordingly, there is attached hereto for your consideration a draft of proposed legislation providing for the establishment of a National Armed Forces Museum Advisory Board, expansion of the Smithsonian Institution's facilities for portraying the

contributions of the Armed Forces of the Nation, and for other purposes.

Respectfully yours,

EARL WARREN,
Chairman, President's Committee on
the American Armed Forces Mu-
seum.

(Members of the Committee: Clinton P. Anderson; Leverett Saltonstall; Clarence Cannon; Overton Brooks; Thomas S. Gates, Jr.; John Nicholas Brown; Nelson A. Rockefeller; H. Alexander Smith; Leonard Carmichael, Executive Director.)

THE PUBLIC CAMPAIGN AGAINST OBSCENE LITERATURE—RESOLU- TION

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, earlier in this session of Congress, I introduced a bill, S. 2123, to provide stiffer penalties for dealers in obscene materials. The fast growing racket of obscene and pornographic publications and films has invaded the American home and has become a menace to grownups and children alike. In asking for new laws I called attention to the fact that the obscene literature trade has become a half-billion-dollar a year business. The Post Office Department estimates that up to 1 million children will receive unsolicited pornographic literature this year.

Our laws have been ineffective this far in combating this menace. The penalties under the present laws, which provide for fines up to \$5,000, are inadequate. These illicit dealers, making thousands of dollars a year, regard fines as a mere cost of doing business. The bill that I introduced requires mandatory prison sentences for second and succeeding violators. I certainly hope that this legislation will be enacted in the near future.

I have stressed, however, at the time I introduced this bill, that strengthening the Federal laws must be only one part of the broader program. The major portion of the battle against obscene material must be carried out by State and local authorities, who must stamp out the base of operations of these dealers in filth. Furthermore, there is the need to draw the attention of parents and the public at large to this danger. Community support must be mobilized in order to make law enforcement effective.

The call for community support has produced much response during the last year. Citizen committees have been organized in many parts of the country in order to aid in the struggle against obscene literature. Various church groups have been most active in this public awakening.

Recently, I have had the pleasure of placing in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD a resolution by the St. Catherine's Society of Milwaukee, calling attention to the need for alerting the public to the increasing menace of obscene literature, and commending the Post Office Department for its excellent national leadership in this endeavor. Today, I should like to place in the RECORD a recent reso-

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Soviets confronts the United States with a grave, present, and continuing danger to its national survival.

(5) In order to defeat the Soviet political warfare offensive and to preserve the integrity and independence of the nations of the Free World, it is imperative—

(A) that the knowledge and understanding of all the peoples of the Free World concerning the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy and of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism be increased as rapidly as is practicable;

(B) that private citizens not only understand the dimensions and nature of the threat, but that they also know how they can participate, and do participate, in this continuous struggle in an effective, sustained, and systematic manner;

(C) that Government personnel engaged in the cold war increase their knowledge of the international Communist conspiracy and of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism, develop a high esprit de corps and sense of mission and a high degree of operational know-how in counteracting the international Communist conspiracy.

(b) It is the intent and purpose of the Congress that the authority and powers granted in this Act be fully utilized by the hereinafter created Commission to achieve the objectives set forth in the preceding subsection (a) (5) of this section. It is the further intent and purpose of the Congress that the authority, powers, and functions of the Commission and the Academy as herein-after set forth are to be broadly construed.

DEFINITIONS

Sec. 3. When used in this chapter—

(1) The term "Commission" means the Freedom Commission;

(2) The term "Academy" means the Freedom Academy.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FREEDOM COMMISSION; COMPOSITION; CHAIRMAN AND ACTING CHAIRMAN; QUORUM; OFFICIAL SPOKESMAN; SEAL

Sec. 4. There is established in the executive branch of the Government an independent agency to be known as the Freedom Commission which shall be composed of six members and a Chairman, each of whom shall be a citizen of the United States, one of whom shall be selected from the higher echelon of the State Department. The Chairman may from time to time designate any other member of the Commission as Acting Chairman to act in the place and stead of the Chairman during his absence. The Chairman (or the Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chairman) shall preside at all meetings of the Commission and a quorum for the transaction of business shall consist of at least four members present. Each member of the Commission, including the Chairman, shall have equal responsibility and authority in all decisions and actions of the Commission, shall have full access to all information relating to the performance of his duties or responsibilities, and shall have one vote. Action of the Commission shall be determined by a majority vote of the members present. The Chairman (or Acting Chairman in the absence of the Chairman) shall be the official spokesman of the Commission in its relations with the Congress, Government agencies, persons, or the public, and, on behalf of the Commission, shall see to the faithful execution of the policies and decisions of the Commission, and shall report thereon to the Commission from time to time or as the Commission may direct. The Commission shall have an official seal which shall be judicially noticed.

MEMBERS; APPOINTMENTS; TERMS; COMPENSATION; EXTRANEEOUS BUSINESS

Sec. 5. (a) Members of the Commission and the Chairman shall be appointed by the

President, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. Not more than four members, including the Chairman, may be members of any one political party. In submitting any nomination to the Senate, the President shall set forth the experience and qualifications of the nominee. The term of each member of the Commission, other than the Chairman, shall be six years, except that (1) the terms of office of the members first taking office shall expire as designated by the President at the time of the appointment, two at the end of two years, two at the end of four years, and two at the end of six years; and (2) any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term. The Chairman shall serve during the pleasure of the President. Any member of the Commission may be removed by the President for inefficiency, neglect of duty, or malfeasance in office. Each member, except the Chairman, shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20,000 per annum; and the Chairman shall receive compensation at the rate of \$20,500 per annum.

(b) No member of the Commission shall engage in any business, vocation, or employment other than that of serving as a member of the Commission.

AUTHORIZATION TO ESTABLISH THE FREEDOM ACADEMY; FUNCTIONS OF COMMISSION AND ACADEMY

Sec. 6. The Commission shall establish under its supervision and control an advanced training and development center to be known as the Freedom Academy. The Academy shall be located at such place or places within the United States as the Commission shall determine. The principal functions of the Commission and Academy shall be—

(1) to carry on a research program designed to develop an integrated operational science that befits and bespeaks the methods and values of freemen and through which the Free World will be able to meet and defeat the carefully patterned total aggression—political, ideological, psychological, economic, paramilitary, and organizational—of the Soviet Bloc, and through which we, as a Nation, may work toward our national objectives in a systematic manner. To achieve this purpose the full range of methods and means is to be thoroughly explored and studied including the methods and means that may best be employed by private citizens and nongovernmental organizations and the methods and means available to the Government other than the methods and means already being used. This research program shall include the study of our national objectives and purpose and the development of proposals for intermeshing and integrating the full spectrum of methods and means into a coordinated, short and long range strategy for victory, seeking the utilization of our full potential in the public and private sectors.

(2) to educate and train Governmental personnel, private citizens, and foreign students concerning all aspects of the international Communist conspiracy, the nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism, and the science of counteraction to the Communist conspiracy.

ACADEMY STUDENTS; SELECTION; GRANTS AND EXPENSES; ADMISSION AS NONIMMIGRANT VISITORS; DEPORTATION

Sec. 7. (a) Academy students, other than Government personnel, shall be selected, insofar as is practicable and in the public interest, from the diverse groups within and without the United States where trained leadership and informed public opinion are most needed. Persons in Government service coming within the provisions of the Government Employees Training Act may be trained at the Academy pursuant to the

provisions of said Act. All agencies and departments of Government are authorized to assign officers and employees to the Academy for designated training.

(b) The Commission is authorized to make grants to students and to pay expenses incident to training and study under this chapter. This authorization shall include authority to pay travel expenses to and from the Academy or other authorized place of training under the chapter, and authority to give financial assistance to the dependents of students during the time they are undergoing training authorized under this Act.

(c) Foreign students selected for training under this Act shall be admitted as non-immigrants under section 1101(a)(15) of title 8, United States Code, for such time and under such conditions as may be prescribed by regulations promulgated by the Commission, the Secretary of State, and the Attorney General. A person admitted under this section who fails to maintain the status under which he was admitted, or who fails to depart from the United States at the expiration of the time for which he was admitted, or who engages in activities of a political nature detrimental to the interest of the United States, or in activities in conflict with the security of the United States, shall, upon the warrant of the Attorney General, be taken into custody and promptly deported pursuant to sections 1251-1253 of title 8, United States Code. Deportation proceedings under this section shall be summary and findings of the Attorney General as to matters of fact shall be conclusive. Such persons shall not be eligible for suspension of deportation under section 1254 of such title 8.

AUTHORIZATION TO ESTABLISH AN INFORMATION CENTER

Sec. 8. The Commission is authorized to establish an information center at such place or places within the United States as the Commission may determine. The principal function of the information center shall be to disseminate, with or without charge, information and materials which will assist people and organizations to increase their understanding of the true nature of the international Communist conspiracy and of the dimensions and nature of the global struggle between freedom and Communism, and of ways they can participate effectively toward winning that struggle. In carrying out this function, the Commission is authorized to prepare, make, and publish textbooks and other materials, including training films, suitable for high school, college, and community level instruction, and also to publish such research materials as may be in the public interest. The Commission is authorized to disseminate such information and materials to such persons and organizations as may be in the public interest on such terms and conditions as the Commission shall determine.

RESTRICTIONS ON DISCLOSURE OF INFORMATION

Sec. 9. Nothing in this chapter shall authorize the disclosure of any information or knowledge in any case in which such disclosure (1) is prohibited by any other law of the United States, or (2) is inconsistent with the security of the United States.

SECURITY CHECK OF PERSONNEL

Sec. 10. (a) Except as authorized by the Commission upon a determination by the Commission that such action is clearly consistent with the national interest, no individual shall be employed by the Commission until such individual has been investigated by the Civil Service Commission to determine whether the said individual is a good security risk and a report thereof has been made to the Freedom Commission.

(b) In addition to the foregoing provisions, the Commission may request that any individual employed by the Commission,

or under consideration for employment by the Commission be investigated by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to determine whether the said individual is a good security risk.

GENERAL AUTHORITY OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 11. In addition to the authority already granted, the Commission is authorized and empowered—

(1) to establish such temporary or permanent boards and committees as the Commission may from time to time deem necessary for the purposes of this Act;

(2) to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Commission. Such personnel shall be appointed in accordance with the civil service laws and their compensation fixed in accordance with the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, except that, to the extent the Commission deems such action necessary to the discharge of its responsibilities, personnel may be employed and their compensation fixed without regard to such laws: *Provided, however*, That no personnel (except such personnel whose compensation is fixed by law, and specially qualified professional personnel up to a limit of \$19,000) whose position would be subject to the Classification Act of 1949, as amended, if such Act were applicable to such position, shall be paid a salary at a rate in excess of the rate payable under such Act for positions of equivalent difficulty or responsibility. The Commission shall make adequate provision for administrative review of any determination to dismiss any employee;

(3) to conduct such research, studies and surveys as necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(4) to make, promulgate, issue, rescind, and amend such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act;

(5) to make such expenditures as may be necessary for administering and carrying out the provisions of this Act;

(6) to utilize, with the approval of the President, the services, facilities, and personnel of other Government agencies. Whenever the Commission shall use the services, facilities, or personnel of any Government agency for activities under the authority of this Act, the Commission shall pay for such performance out of funds available to the Commission under this Act, either in advance, by reimbursement, or by direct transfer;

(7) to utilize or employ on a full- or part-time basis, with the consent of the organization or governmental body concerned, the services of personnel of any State or local government or private organization to perform such functions on its behalf as may appear desirable to carry out the purposes of this Act, without said personnel severing their connection with the furnishing organization or governmental body; and further to utilize personnel of a foreign government in the same manner and under the same circumstances with the approval of the Secretary of State;

(8) to acquire by purchase, lease, loan, or gift, and to hold and dispose of by sale, lease, or loan, real and personal property of all kinds necessary for, or resulting from, the exercise of authority granted by this Act;

(9) to receive and use funds donated by others, if such funds are donated without restrictions other than that they be used in furtherance of one or more of the purposes of this Act;

(10) to accept and utilize the services of voluntary and uncompensated personnel and to provide transportation and subsistence as authorized by section 73b-2 of title 5, United States Code, for persons serving without compensation;

(11) to utilize the services of persons on a temporary basis and to pay their actual and necessary travel expenses and subsistence and in addition compensation at a rate not to exceed \$50 per day for each day spent in the work of the Commission.

GENERAL MANAGER; APPOINTMENT; COMPENSATION

SEC. 12. The Commission is authorized to establish within the Commission a General Manager, who shall discharge such of the administrative and executive functions of the Commission as the Commission may direct. The General Manager shall be appointed by the Commission, shall serve at the pleasure of the Commission, shall be removable by the Commission, and shall receive compensation at a rate determined by the Commission, but not in excess of \$18,000 per annum.

APPROPRIATIONS

SEC. 13. There is authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this Act.

FREEDOM ACADEMY

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I call to the attention of the Senate a most challenging, inspiring, and thought-provoking editorial in support of the Freedom Academy, which appeared in the great Cincinnati (Ohio) Inquirer on August 25.

I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the RECORD at this point in my remarks.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE

Some of us are dazed by the rocket triumphs of the Soviet Union, awed by the mountainous military manpower of Red China. Do they constitute the greatest threat to the survival of the United States and the free world?

No. We can build missiles and rockets. We can contrive—in fact we already have—an awesome deterrent force to deal with outright military aggression.

The Reds are fighting the war—and winning—in another dimension, where we have no present ability even to join the battle.

Here is a paragraph from a report of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary which could well be described as some of the most important words you may ever read:

"The Communists have conquered nearly a billion people during a period when their sphere was markedly inferior in industry, technology, science, and military capabilities—in fact, inferior in almost everything except power-seeking know-how. The Soviets have been able to expand their empire during this period of inferiority, because they have developed a science of protracted conflict in which they are able to gradually increase their relative power position, using a well-integrated combination of political, economic, and military methods while avoiding a sufficient provocation to invite massive retaliation. Central to their science of protracted conflict is their skill in political and economic warfare."

The report spells it out: The Communists are highly trained cold war specialists. They are professionals at the art of a new form of conflict and conquest. Their capabilities in political and economic warfare are not in-born—they are the result of a massive development and training period extending over several decades.

They have not only a vast fund of knowledge of the methods and means of subversion

and propaganda; they have competent managers to orchestrate their efforts and they have highly skilled operators in every sphere of cold war activity.

They are the professionals in this field.

We are the amateurs—and the unorganized amateurs at that.

For the most part we are standing around reassuring ourselves in the knowledge that ours is the better way of life, while the agents of Communist imperialism pervert the youth of the world, the students, professors, scientists, politicians, labor leaders, businessmen, industrialists, to a heinous misconception of where their best interests lie.

Do you find it inconceivable that anyone in a free or even neutral country could be "sold" the concept of slavery inherent in communism? It is being done. While you are reading this editorial, hundreds will have been entrapped by the worldwide Communist conspiracy.

We, the West, started mankind on the road to freedom and independence. Who is capitalizing upon and taking credit for the apparent advances of this movement today? Communists. In the Far East, the Middle East, Africa—even deep within our own hemisphere.

They have turned our flanks, in military parlance. And as Winston Churchill phrased it during World War II, we find them attacking now our soft underbelly.

Isn't it time we did something about it? Yes; it is time—if there is time.

The Senate Judiciary Committee report from which we quoted was one giving approval to a bill—actually there are companion Senate and House bills—to develop a science of counteraction to the Communist cold war techniques.

The legislative proposal would create a Freedom Commission—and a Freedom Academy, to train and develop leaders from throughout the free world in effective leadership in the cold war.

No such agency now exists, and although a number of agencies touch upon the field, none does what the Communist world is doing, on anything like the scale the Communists are doing it. Our Foreign Service Institute trains our career foreign officers, but it is not equipped to train cold war leaders from this and other free countries. The National War College and its subordinates, the Army War College, Naval War College, and Air University, must treat political warfare only as a footnote subject. The role of the Central Intelligence Agency is not adequate—as experience has proved.

A cold war development and training center—a Freedom Academy—may sound impractical or visionary. But is it?

Unless we wish to see freedom everywhere nibbled to death, at an ever-increasing pace, we had better create some such facility for defending ourselves, and counterattacking, in the cold war. Let your Representative and Senators know that you're strongly in favor of the proposed West Point for political war.

The Communists have its equivalent, and have been turning out graduates of distinction for years.

Today they're taking the world away from you.

Mr. MUNDT. Should it occur that the House does not act in these concluding hours of the session—and I suspect that this is the final day of this extra session of the Congress—let it be said that this effort will go on, and that this bill will be introduced in the next Congress. I am convinced that something as important as this measure to the success of freedom and to the defeat of world communism and to the preser-

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vation of world peace will be quickly adopted in the new Congress, if it is not in fact approved by the House of Representatives before we adjourn today.

THE DEFENSE RECORD

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, yesterday morning, after the minority leader refused to agree to the Senate's voting on a resolution it be the sense of the Senate that expenditure ceilings on high priority defense items be removed, he asked unanimous consent that, in connection with his refusal, he be allowed to insert a statement in the RECORD.

I was surprised to note this morning that the statement he thereupon inserted had little to do with this resolution. Rather it was a criticism of a talk I made on the floor last Friday.

Inasmuch as the minority leader said in his statement that he had studied my talk in some detail last Saturday, I am sorry he did not give me a chance to see his reply until today. I am sure he did not handle it this way with the premise that we would adjourn last night, because that is not the manner in which the minority leader operates.

In his analysis of my talk he said that I had done a grave injustice to the Secretary of Defense. That is not correct. During the debate on Friday I stated:

The present Secretary of Defense has my respect, and I do not criticize him in any way from the standpoint of his being a great American patriot. I do, however, criticize his judgment.

That was the way I felt then, and that is the way I feel now.

I have heard on good authority that the Secretary of Defense is not happy about the consistent fiscal limitations applied to his operations, presumably by the Bureau of the Budget.

I did and do believe that the letter from the Secretary of Defense was misleading, because of the following three points on which it was far from clear in presenting the facts.

First, the administration asked for less, not more, money than was in the President's message.

Second, the administration did not request the increases made by the Congress, although it did accept part of them, and the Secretary's letter would certainly suggest that the administration recommended all of them.

Third, the administration then froze funds in an amount comparable to the total increase made by the Congress.

Mr. President, in due course I will answer in detail the assertions contained in the memorandum put in the RECORD last night by the minority leader, and make it available for the permanent RECORD.

Let me repeat again today, however, that despite all the belated protestations that have been made about increasing our defenses in accordance with purported recommendations by this administration, the record is clear that the initiative lay with the Congress.

Moreover, high priority programs have been held up by arbitrary expenditure ceilings and similar devices.

As we now go to the country on the record, the minority leader would appear to be attempting to change that record so it will look as if the administration had done what the facts show the administration has not done.

That was the reason why I submitted my resolution, after I found out that such vital programs were being held up as the B-58 procurement; construction of missile bases and maintenance of training bases; the number of military personnel; the ICBM procurement program—that is the long-range, intercontinental missiles—B-70 development; Navy ship construction; and Army modernization.

Mr. President, I mentioned that I was going to file a complete report for the permanent RECORD, and I certainly do not intend to take the Senate's time today to deal with all of these inaccuracies.

But, let me give just one example of what the minority leader has referred to as statements in my speech which were "left incomplete in a most damaging way." He quotes my talk of last Friday as follows:

The House Appropriations Committee recommended, and the House approved, an increase of \$115 million for "Airborne alert capability." * * * After reconsideration of this problem, we again recommend the program as proposed in January.

It is clear from that statement that the Deputy Secretary of Defense testified the administration did not want the increased money approved by the House for airborne alert capability, but rather preferred to have that money not made available, as they wished to maintain the airborne alert program as proposed in January.

In other words, they did not want additional funds for airborne alert.

There is nothing incomplete about that. The minority leader, however, criticizes me for not having gone on to cite the Deputy Secretary of Defense's testimony in which he makes reference to a section in last year's Appropriations Act and in this year's Appropriations Act giving the Department of Defense authority to increase its airborne alert program if it decided to do so. That section of the act has been referred to time and again. In fact, just last June, when the Appropriations bill was before the Senate, I not only referred to that provision, but I quoted it in full before the Senate.

I then went on to point out at that time that this language in no respect reflects the sense of the Congress that we should make preparations for airborne alert at this time. In fact, I said: "Regardless of any language, nobody will be able to snap his fingers and obtain it."

Moreover, I pointed out that some of the equipment and trained personnel needed for an airborne alert would take 18 months to obtain, it was necessary to make the funds available and use them at this time if we were ever to have the capability when it was decided it was needed.

Consequently, Mr. President, I deny categorically the accusation of the mi-

nority leader that failure to cite again this section in the act in any way changes or leaves incomplete the clear-cut assertion that the administration's position at that time was this: They did not even want to take the initial steps to prepare for a sufficient airborne alert capability.

Mr. President, let me cite just one more of the illustrations which the minority leader has labeled "incomplete in a most damaging way."

He quotes the following testimony from the Deputy Secretary of Defense, which I had included in my August 26 talk, in regard to antisubmarine warfare.

With regard to the \$100 million of additional funds voted by the House for ASW research and development * * * we recommend that the remaining \$58.1 million be eliminated.

When the Secretary of Defense wrote the majority leader and stated that the administration had recommended an increase in funds for antisubmarine warfare research and development, I cited this record to show that what had really taken place was that the House had added money, and that the administration had expressed its disapproval of most of what the House had added.

This is a far cry from having the administration recommend an increase.

The facts are that the House recommended the increase and the administration said they did not need most of it.

I would not want Congress to adjourn and have us go back to our communities without presenting a few additional facts for the record with respect to just who was and is responsible for the present lag in our defense posture.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am glad to yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. While the Senator is discussing the topic of who is responsible for the defense lag, I should like to make this comment about the service the Senator from Missouri has rendered to the country in the past several years, as he has persistently, insistently, and courageously sought to focus attention of the American people on our security posture.

I know it has not always been easy for the Senator from Missouri to do so, because he has been under terrific fire from time to time in the form of very unfair criticism and personal abuse. However, he is about to discuss who was responsible for the fact that there has been a lag in our defenses. In that connection I wish to focus attention for just a second or two on the fact that the Senator from Missouri is responsible for a great shift in Republican policy in the field of defense. They are talking a different language now than they did last year. I am satisfied that they recognize in their inner councils that there is no answer to the Senator from Missouri. Thus we find them, in Chicago at their convention, and in their press interviews of recent day, and the President himself, shifting ground in order to accommodate themselves to the facts which the Senator from Missouri has brought out for several years.

A great deal of credit is due to the Senator from Missouri for the fact that now the administration has at long last—and it is long overdue—started to do something about filling up the gaps in our defenses.

Mr. SYMINGTON. I am very grateful to the senior Senator from Oregon for his comments. I first had the pleasure of knowing him when he was a member of the Senate Committee on Armed Services. He was one of the most constructive and intelligent members who ever served on that committee. He gives me undue credit. I am grateful for it, of course, but cannot agree with it. I believe that Governor Rockefeller has had a good deal to do with the changed position of this administration on defense. There is one great difference between the work of the Governor of New York in this field and the work of many other people in his party. He has studied the matter. After studying it, as has been the case with many other worthy citizens, he has come to three conclusions. The first is that we are not doing enough. The second is that we can afford to do more. The third is that if we do not do more, in a short time we will be in the kind of trouble that the Senator from Oregon and I have been worried about for a long time.

Now that world tensions have come to the point where the Governor of New York and members of his commission, the Gaither Committee, the Johns Hopkins Study Commission, the members of the CED Commission, et cetera, are shown to have been right, based on present world tensions, instead of representatives of and advocates of this administration facing frankly the fact that they were wrong, they are attempting to saddle the previous administration with the fact this country has not done what should have been done in this field. They have not been willing to give the facts to the American people.

I might add, in response to the Senator from Oregon, that representatives of this administration do not try to saddle on anybody else the present great gap to our disadvantage in ground forces, the present great gap to our disadvantage in submarines, and the present obvious gap in the space field. Because it is a new field, where there have been rapid changes, they attempt to prove that another administration was responsible for the missile gap.

Now here are a few facts which should be part of the Record, so the people of the country may decide who is responsible for what with respect to the subject we are discussing this morning.

First. From 1946 through fiscal year 1953—the last year under a Truman budget—\$3,450 million were spent on military missile programs.

Second. When the Eisenhower administration took office in 1953, it inherited a fiscal year 1954 budget which had been prepared by the Truman administration. The defense part of the Truman budget was cut \$5¼ billion by the Eisenhower administration. Most of this cut was taken from the Air Force, and resulted in a substantial reduction

in research and development moneys and other funds for missiles.

Third. In fiscal year 1954, the funds for missiles were cut about \$100 million below those in the last year of the Truman administration—that is from \$1,166 million to \$1,067 million.

Mr. President, on the basis of this figure alone, what a farce it is for people to talk about a previous administration being responsible for any missile gap.

Fourth. During 1946-53, the rocket engines now used in the Atlas intercontinental ballistic missile—in production—and the Thor intermediate range ballistic missile—which is also in production—were developed for the Navajo project. Prior to 1953, the United States had already developed or had under development the Terrier, the Sparrow, the Nike, the Matador, the Snark, the Hermes, the Navaho, the Rascal, the Lark, and the Atlas missiles.

Fifth. Prior to 1953, the United States had developed the atom bomb and had tested the first hydrogen device, the latter having been ordered into development by President Truman in 1950.

Sixth. By the time the Eisenhower administration came in, the research and development for the Atlas ICBM program had developed to the point where it was characterized by General Schriever—the officer in charge of the project—as follows:

By 1953, impending solution of most of the problems [for developing the Atlas ICBM] allowed design and initial construction of Atlas vehicles.

Seventh. Yet, for years the Atlas was not given a national priority and has never been put on a full production basis.

Eighth. No one was producing ICBM's in the 1940's or, to the best of our knowledge, the early 1950's. The state of the art had not progressed to that point either here or in the Soviet Union. However, when both countries were ready to begin production, the Soviet Union went ahead, while the United States gave a higher priority to fiscal objectives than to the ICBM program. Even the administration finally admitted that this policy resulted in a situation in which the Soviets would have at least a 3 to 1 advantage over us in this field.

That ratio was announced by Secretary of Defense McElroy in January 1953.

Ninth. In the last year under the budget of the previous administration, the fiscal year 1953—and to me this is very significant—12.1 percent of our gross national product was spent on our military defense, while this year the administration's program calls for spending 7.8 percent of our gross national product. So we see that despite the fact everybody now agrees that the Communist menace is more serious today than it was, say, 7 or 8 years ago, we are spending much less of our national income for defense than we spent at that time.

Tenth. Throughout the last 6 years, Democrats in and out of the Congress have been warning of the dangers, urging that more funds and efforts be devoted to defense, and bringing the facts out to the

American people. These efforts have been met by soothing statements which tended to create a sense of complacency among the American people.

Despite efforts on the part of Democrats to increase our military strength, build up our strategic forces, improve the mobility and modernity of our Army, step up our Polaris missile program, and so forth, the administration has refused to change or accelerate its programs.

Eleventh. Failure to spend funds made available by the Congress during the past 3 years has resulted in less operational capability in the long-range missile field, less modernity and mobility for our ground forces, less modernity and capability in our naval forces.

For example, last year the Congress added \$382.6 million for Army modernization, of which only \$43.6 million was allowed by the administration to be spent for this purpose. An even more recent example is that this year the Congress added \$394 million over and above the President's budget request for the Polaris, while the Department of Defense first objected to any increase and then announced that it would use only \$312.3 million of this increase.

So later I shall answer in detail the statement placed in the Record by the minority leader yesterday. I told him today I planned to take the floor to reply to his statement as soon as I could get the floor. It is of the utmost importance that the American people be given all facts which will not help a possible enemy. Based upon this record just presented to the Senate, the idea that anyone would have the temerity to say that the relative decline in the defense strength of the United States as against that of the Soviets rests on something that was done say 10 years ago is, to me, one of the most fantastic efforts to misrepresent I have listened to in a long, long time.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. Mr. President, will the Senator from Missouri yield?

Mr. SYMINGTON. I yield.

Mr. YARBOROUGH. I desire, on behalf of the people of my State, to commend the distinguished Senator from Missouri for his forthright, frankly spoken, honest appraisal of our defense situation.

The Senator from Missouri knows that the people of my State hold him in high esteem. I have transmitted to him during the past year numerous invitations from my State for him to appear at public functions. They have not been of a partisan nature. I do not believe a single invitation was to a partisan political meeting. They have come from different groups which were interested in the defense of the country. Knowing of the deep knowledge of the distinguished Senator from Missouri on this subject, they wanted him to speak at statewide meetings when his duties here permitted, so that they could learn from him at first hand more about the situation in which we find ourselves today.

I commend the distinguished Senator from Missouri for his courage, his candor, his sound knowledge, and his true approach, free from all partisan bias. I